

837 woman answered: 'She is angry with her husband, because he has gone
578 to meet another woman in the bush.'

Sometimes the lover is bold enough to come to the woman in her own hut. This, if discovered, very considerably aggravates the offence. In the case of Kumun, referred to on p. 112, it seemed to me that Pinari was hardly more angry over the pregnancy itself than he was over the fact that she and her lover had been together in the hut. It turned out that some one who was in their confidence had betrayed them, and Gerigir was caught standing beside her bed while she was lying on it. He made a great point of the fact that he was not lying down with her, but in the end he paid a length of *imun* to Pinari as compensation, though both vehemently denied that he was the father of her expected child. Pinari, however, was not appeased by the payment, even though he accepted it, and Gerigir was still in disgrace when I left, three months later.

837 Endless tales are told about such intrigues. A common incident
538 in them is that the child of one of the pair, angry with its parent, perhaps for not giving it something it wanted, spies on the couple, and goes and tells the husband or wife, as the case may be, of its parent's lover what is going on. Whether this happens in real life as often as it does in the tales, I do not know, but it is certain that the children often have a pretty shrewd idea of the state of affairs.

837 Cases of what would in our own society be described as 'entice-
ment' sometimes occur. I select the following instance, which is not an isolated one, from my files: Erut was married to Masor, a man belonging to another village. Pasab, of Kurtatchi, whose
[832] first wife was dead, wanted her, and made love magic with *magor* (see p. 121) to cause her to leave her husband and come to him. She did so; her husband divorced her, was given back his ceremonial currency, and Pasab married her. They have one little
593 girl. I saw a good deal of their family life, and thought the relations between them, both with each other and with the child, were extremely good. They are always working in one another's company, seem very happy together, and I have not heard any gossip about either of them, which is rather unusual.

1832 If a man wishes to have his wife back, he may try the following
824 'medicine':

If your wife has run away with another man, chew the rootlet of the plant *wapiu* (unidentified) with the betel-mixture, and spit the mixture

MARRIAGE AND SEX RELATIONS

837 The more usual procedure, nowadays, however, is that the
 586 husband divorces the woman, who then marries her lover. Several
 848 such cases were personally known to me. The following is typical:
 [855] Tahol was married to Tsigot, a man much older than herself, and
 while he was absent from the village Wasē became her lover. She
 became pregnant; her husband was very angry when he discovered
 it, but did not divorce her. The child died. Tsigot went to Rabaul
 to work as an indentured labourer, Wasē and Tahol became lovers
 again and had another child. This time Tsigot divorced Tahol,
 and Wasē married her as his third wife. As far as I can judge they
 are living very happily together. His first wife has died, and his
 second is still an immature child, though she lives in his hut. He
 seems to be really fond of Tahol, and both adore the baby, now
 nearly two years old, who gets even more petting than Melanesian
 children usually do.

837 No stigma of any sort attaches to the child of such a union,
 848 whether the parents marry or not, and none to the woman if her
 lover marries her. In most of the instances that came under my
 observation, marriage had taken place after the woman's divorce.
 These marriages seem to be among the happiest that I met with,
 which is, perhaps, only to be expected, since they are almost the
 only ones in this society which can fairly be said to be the result of
 individual preference on both sides. But many, perhaps the
 majority, of the clandestine affairs are not taken seriously by either
 partner, and are clearly entered into for no other reason than the
 gratification of physical desire. The word used for them, *riuk*, is
 [195] translatable as 'play'; it is the same word as is used for the play of
 a child, and was also applied to the antics of my kitten.

WOMEN'S PART IN INTRIGUES

837 Mrs. Hadden, who was one of the first white people to live in
 this part of the country, and who has always been interested in the
 natives, told me she was certain that the woman was, more often
 than not, the more active, if not the instigating partner in love
 affairs. A similar view was expressed, quite independently, by one
 of the priests, who had worked in the district for many years.
 Direct evidence is difficult to obtain, but there is reason to think
 837 that this is true. It is strongly suggested in the folk-tales, which
 do, I am sure, reflect actual conditions. There is, for example,
 ● 538 a frequently recurring incident of a woman who pretended to be

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ill in order to persuade the man called in to treat her to have coitus with her. The following incident, which happened while I was at Kurtatchi, seems to provide further evidence, in spite of the asseverations of the lady concerned. I give it for what it is worth, with the comments I made shortly after.

437
[538] ●

'Tarubi is the wife of Tchiriv. Both are about the same age, I should judge somewhere in their early twenties. She was discovered carrying on intrigues with three other men of the village at the same time, two married, the other a widower. Apparently one of the villagers knew about it but said nothing, till one day he told some one at Ruri, Tarubi's father's village. A Kurtatchi man visiting Ruri heard it talked about, and being a friend of Tchiriv's he came back to Kurtatchi in a furious temper and charged Tarubi with it. She admitted the truth of the accusation, but said she didn't want to do it, but the men liked her so much! Tchiriv knew nothing about it till he was told. He said nothing to Tarubi, but went about looking very disconsolate all the rest of the day. Pinari happened to be away. When he came back, after a day or two, the case was laid before him, and he summoned all the people concerned to his hut, where he charged the men with "stealing" Tchiriv's wife. The men denied it, but Tarubi said it was true. Eventually Pinari decided that no action was called for on his part. He said that if he had had plenty of men in his village he would have reported it to the District Officer and asked for the men to be imprisoned, but as he was short of men he would overlook it on condition that Tarubi promised to behave herself in future, thus clearly indicating that he considered she was to blame. It so happened that one of the men involved was his own nephew, and also that one of his wives was proved to have made some of the assignations. He said that he would beat her for it, but I don't think he did. The village clearly regarded the verdict as a show of weakness on Pinari's part. The general opinion was that Tarubi was a public nuisance, and that Tchiriv had better divorce her and send her back to her own village. But Tchiriv said he did not want to send her away. He is really fond of her, and they continue to go about together as before. He is distinctly lacking in vindictiveness, for the day after the investigation he and two of the men concerned were all on my verandah together, apparently on the most amicable terms. It seemed to me that, on the whole, he was rather flattered that his wife should be the object of so much

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you must not go near her. She will be unhappy because of you, and will not be able to eat. Next day she will climb a tree and call out to all the men to find you and fight you, because you have scorned her. She will say: 'Why does he run away from me, I want him.' Then she will want you so much that she will go to your hut. (This is a grave breach of etiquette.) Her brother will be very angry, and will come to you and ask why you have done this to his sister. Then you will tell him it is because he seduced your sister.

This magic must be taught to no one except the possessor's sister's son.

I could never learn of any medicine to be used by a woman for taking revenge on a man who had abandoned her. It was noteworthy that, although some of the magic connected with love-making was known to and used by women, the great majority of my informants on this subject were men, the women seeming neither to know nor to care so much about this means of attracting a partner as the men did. Perhaps they feel more sure of the efficacy of their own personal charms. However that may be, it is certain that lovers are not lacking to any woman who wants them.

A woman desiring sexual intercourse with a man who does not make advances to her will, when opportunity arises, lie down in his presence with her legs apart, a position otherwise regarded as indecent. The word *payan* means to adopt it deliberately for this purpose. If a woman exposes her genitals, even unwittingly, as in sleep, the situation is liable to be taken advantage of by any man whose passions may thereby be aroused. Both types of incident figure frequently in my collection of tales, as well as in village gossip. The proper behaviour for a woman is to sit or lie with her legs stretched out in front of her, keeping them close together. This is still the rule, although every adult now wears a loin-cloth. A young man once brought his little son, aged about three, to play on my verandah. The child sat down with his legs straight out, and another man immediately began to laugh. When I asked what the joke was, he said that the baby was sitting down like a girl.

SEXUAL INTERCOURSE

The people say there was a time when they had no knowledge of the sexual act, but men copulated with women at their armpits, and it was thought that the female genitalia were intended to provide them with lime in which to dip their areca-nut. The proper way to do it was taught first to the people of Tsiraun (Nissan), by

HOMOSEXUALITY

- 838 Homosexual practices figure in some of the stories, in each case on the part of males. From discussions arising out of these it would appear that homosexuality is actually found among these people, but is rare, and is regarded with intense disfavour. At the end of one such story, told by a young woman, the names of two men, one dead, one living in another village, were mentioned, and also that of the father of a Kurtatchi boy who had been forced to yield to the former, when he was an old man too feeble to resist. The natives said that such people were *pipiu*, a word which from [538] its use in other connexions appears to mean 'mad', though it was also applied to a boy who was deaf and dumb. In one story homosexual behaviour started after recovery from an illness, and [732] [762] the man finally committed suicide by jumping from a cliff. It was related as a fact, with the statement that it happened not long ago.

- It is known that homosexual practices occur on the plantations, where indentured men may spend three years in 'quarters' without women. Some of the older people told me they did not like their young men to sign on for this reason. It would seem probable that the segregation of the boys wearing the *upi* might have similar consequences, especially considering the very intimate contact in which they live with the older men acting as their *amro* (see pp. 198-9) during their period of seclusion in the bush. But my informants [839] asserted emphatically that this was not the case, although masturbation was freely admitted. It is at least safe to say that homosexual [881] practices do not form part of the puberty ritual, nor do they enter, so far as I could ascertain, into any other ceremonial observances among these people.

The conventional attitude towards homosexuality in this community is definitely one of condemnation. I do not know how far the assertion that manifestations of it occur but rarely may have been due to this, but the impression I received from the reactions of the natives during discussions on the subject was that the disapproval was more than the expression of the orthodox point of view.

- [585] [881] Imitations of the sexual act are carried out between women at a certain stage in the marriage ceremonies (see p. 91) and in those marking the first menstruation of a girl who is *tsunaun*. These are

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purely ritual acts, and in no respect to be connected with female homosexuality, for which I have no evidence. 838

CONNEXION WITH ANIMALS

Again arising out of the telling of stories, it appears that intercourse with animals, usually dogs, is known, on the part of both sexes. The talk which followed the story elicited the fact that it does actually occur, but I can form no idea of its frequency. When it formed the subject of a story it was regarded as a joke by the teller—in one case the tale was especially described as a good one—and was received with much laughter by the audience, but there were signs of shame and disgust when we discussed its actual occurrence. This happened in two villages; the reactions of the natives were the same in both. 839 538 [522]

CONNEXION WITH PLANTS

The legend of origin, according to which the people are said to have sprung from an old woman who was impregnated by means of a banana, has been given in Chapter II. Other instances in which pregnancy is supposed to occur in this manner are given in Chapter III. There are several stories in my collection in which plants, sometimes those possessing aromatic properties, figure in the same role. I give one of these, which is typical of its kind, in case students of sex psychology may see in it some significance.

A woman went to the taro garden, she saw a bush banana, the kind whose stalk is black. She liked it so much that she cut it, and took it to her house, and slept with it. (The phrase here used implies sexual intercourse; it is not clear from my manuscript whether the whole plant or only the fruit is intended.) Then she looked at it, and the skin had come off part of it. Then she thought her man was dead, and she cried over it, and took it up and got red paint and put on it, and got some beads and dressed it up (as is done to the dead). Then she took it and put it in the sea, but it would not sink. So she took it back, and buried it in the bush. Then she set fire to the house where the banana had died (as used to be done to the hut in which a person had died). Then she went and slept in another house. 839 539

Another day she went to the bush, and saw a young bush-banana plant coming up, and she said: 'Yes, I think you are the brother of the man I married before, aren't you?' Then she said: 'You stay there just now, by and by you will be big.' Then she went and said to her father: 'Come on, make me another house.' Her father said: 'Why should I

CHILDHOOD

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to be exacted of the small boys until they are old enough to go fishing seriously. 857

Most of the active games seem to be played in rather desultory fashion, nothing in the form of sports or contests being organized. A good deal of running after one another goes on, of course, but I never saw children racing, or playing anything which could be compared to our 'Tag'. A form of 'Hide-and-seek' is played mostly by adults. The children like to tear about the village waving flaming-sticks or torches made of coco-nut palm leaves, and though the risk of fire must be considerable, nobody ever says: 'Don't.' 857 526

The children of Petats, where there is a good sandy beach, and, usually, a smooth sea, at least on the 'lagoon' side of the island, were always in and out of the water. Even the four- or five-year-olds were good at diving, going in either head or feet first, or in a kind of squatting posture, clasping their knees, but from no great height (Pl. 14b). They get a very good elastic swing to a standing dive. They swim under water for some distance, with a movement of the hands close to the body, palms facing backwards, and do not seem to mind the sharks, which I have sometimes seen quite close to them. It may be that these sharks are harmless, but man-eating sharks are sometimes heard of, and accidents are known to occur. [36] The children's light-coloured palms and soles show up very strikingly beside their dark bodies through the transparent water. The village of Kurtatchi, standing as it does on the top of a steep cliff with a rocky beach and the breakers of the open sea below, offers little inducement to indulgence in water games. The small children there did not go into the sea, except for walking through pools in the reef at low tide. The older boys and men occasionally bathed in the surf, some used surf-boards to ride the rollers, the boys wearing the *api* looking very odd as their head-gear bobbed up and down. The native word for surf-riding is *t/ü/sir*, and descriptions of it occur in some of their stories of times past, including one involving the famous 'two brothers'. [538] •

Both boys and girls are excellent tree-climbers, but this is done chiefly to get coco-nuts, areca-nuts, or opossum, not merely as a sport. They climb with the aid of a band of fibre round both feet. There is, however, a game in which the boys set up a dead tree in the earth, or, more often, in the sand of the beach, swarm up its trunk, and try to balance themselves on the highest branch that will bear them, egging each other on to go up higher on to a smaller 481 857 526

DIET, COOKING, AND MEALS

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feast. Sometimes they are eaten as they are, almost raw, sometimes they are cooked a little more, by being placed on the fire a second time.

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The procedure of cooking pigs is always the same as that above described. The men always attend to it throughout; women are allowed to be present and to look on, but they never take any part in the work. If several pigs are to be cooked, there may be quite a number of men engaged in the various operations. On one occasion I counted ten men busy over the cooking of four pigs (see Pl. 35).

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Opossum are skinned and cleaned before being cooked. The animal is pulled apart at the joints, and each section, with the meat on it, is roasted separately by being laid on the fire and scorched, or wrapped in a package of leaves and cooked slowly in the embers of a smouldering fire. More rarely, they are smoked whole. I once, at a bartering expedition, saw a woman with a load of smoked opossums on her back; they looked exactly like mummied cats. Flying foxes are treated in the same way as opossum, and are much appreciated by the boys wearing the *upi* who may not eat the other animal at a certain stage in their rites. Bats of a smaller variety are cooked, frequently by children, by holding them over a fire. Iguanas are eaten only occasionally, if other flesh food has been scarce.

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[251]

The bush abounds with insects of the grasshopper family, some reaching a length of 3 or 4 inches. These are considered great delicacies by the children, who toast them by impaling them on sticks held over a fire. They told me that these creatures were '*Tab en a dum tsü-u-u-u-u-n!*' 'Something very, very, very good to eat!' Adults are not above eating them when they feel so inclined.

The coast people will not eat snakes (*koro*), but they say the mountain people do so. This, however, was denied by those whom I had an opportunity of questioning on the subject, so it may be only a recognized form of insult. There are a number of stories in my collection dealing with people who inadvertently ate a snake, either by mistake for a *met'on* (sea slug), or through a mean trick played by some one else, who gives the man a piece of snake telling him it is opossum, an impertinence for which the practical joker, in most of the tales, pays with his life.

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Several different kinds of frogs are used as food. The generic

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DIET, COOKING, AND MEALS

262 spirit as that in which a prisoner of war was eaten in the olden
[527] days. I was not able to verify this piece of information with regard
to the eating of crocodiles.

• [538] I have never seen these people eating sharks, but I was told that
they sometimes do, and it is referred to in some of the stories in
my collection.

SUMMARY OF METHODS OF COOKING

252 The principal methods of cooking employed by these people
may be listed as follows:

turak, to scorch meat on the outside by holding it over the flame, or
laying it for a short time in a hot fire.

munmun, to roast more slowly by leaving in the embers of a smouldering
fire.

moy, to cook in packages of leaves laid on a slow fire.

pupus, to smoke. (When partial preservation is desired for purposes
of barter.)

ta'ō, to cook very slowly in an oven, i.e. a hole in the ground filled
with hot stones, and covered with earth.

nosnos, to boil in water in a pot.

With the exception of their use of the water in which shell-fish
have been boiled, which they drink as soup, they do not appear
to employ methods involving either decoction or infusion in the
preparation of their food.

DISCUSSION

146 With a view to ascertaining whether this diet fulfilled the con-
ditions necessary to health in respect of its vitamin content, I have
consulted the table given in the Medical Research Council's Report
on Vitamins (published in 1932). Although of course many of the
items in my list do not appear there, enough are given to show that
all the vitamins are well represented. It is noteworthy that the
banana, which is a very frequent constituent of their meals, is a
good source of vitamins A, C, and E, contains B₁ and B₂, and is not
entirely lacking in D. All the vitamins may also be obtained, in
varying richness, from the different parts of the pig which are
consumed. The use of citrus fruits and of the leaves of taro and
other plants ensures a further supply of C, the latter also of A.
Vitamin A is probably the least well represented of the more
important vitamins, owing to the entire absence of milk and butter,
though it is found in small quantity in the coco-nut, and perhaps

OTHER BELIEFS: CHIEFLY CONCERNING

775 were fishing saw him sitting on the top of the reef at the edge of the surf.
 778 They ran away and told his mother and his wife, who came to look at
 823 him. They recognized him, and were glad, but when he saw them he dis-
 531 appeared under a stone. They could not find him again. They brought
 paint and ornaments and put them on the stone. The man remained
 fast underneath the stone. Now he is stone, he is called Tchibo, he is
 at the Passage.

775 Tchibo was pointed out to me. It is a large rock in Buka Passage,
 778 just off the end of a small island of which it must once have formed
 823 part (Pl. 76). There are many stories about Tchibo; they are related
 ● 538 all over Buka and the North Bougainville coast, with appropriate
 local variations. He is supposed to have stood originally on the east
 coast of Bougainville, near Numanuma. He wandered all along the
 north coast, looking for a place to stay, but the *war* of each place
 drove him away. After repeated efforts, each detailed in full in the
 stories with endless repetition, he came to Buka Passage. There he
 overpowered Hinoal, the *war* in possession, and remained there
 altogether. The Petats people say that Hinoal ran away northwards,
 and as he ran he threw up the reef which now fringes the west coast
 of Buka, to prevent Tchibo from following him. Tchibo, in pursuit,
 made the deep channels which break the reef at intervals, through
 which ships now pass. Finally, Tchibo gave up the chase and went
 back to the Passage, but Hinoal went on and went on till he came
 to a certain point on the west coast of Petats. Here a rock named
 Tabulat called to him to come and join him; so he did. They
 decided to join forces, and went together back to the Passage and
 attacked Tchibo. Tabulat cut off Tchibo's legs, and Tchibo fell
 down and died. Since then he has been a stone and has not
 wandered any more. Tabulat and Hinoal went back to Petats.
 They are two rocks on the shore, every Petats native knows how
 they came to be there. The Tiop people say it was Tchibo who
 made Tiop into an island; before he broke through it was joined
 by a narrow isthmus to the mainland of Bougainville. The people
 of Saposa say that their culture heroine, Morena, made all the little
 islands by breaking pieces off Tchibo after he had taken up his
 position in Buka Passage, and that she provided the people with
 good water to drink by sending Tchibo to break through the bush
 and make places for the rivers.

The Tchibo series is the most elaborate and most widely diffused
 stone-myth that I came across. But there is an almost unlimited

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935

ON6 Bulka ON6
Kurtatchi

PLATE 76



THE ROCK TCHIBO, IN BUKA PASSAGE

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778
823
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[Facing A53E]

GHOSTS AND SPIRITS

529

775 supply of more or less local stories associating various stones or
 778 rocks' with *urar* and attributing to them certain powers and activi-
 823 ties. I have notes on a number of these, of which the following are
 536 given as typical:

775 Mururi is the name of an *urar*; he is a rock on the beach at Timputs,
 778 which has a hole in its base. All the driftwood collects there, but no one
 823 takes it for firewood. Once a man did take some, and Mururi was very
 531 angry and prevented him from catching any fish. Some one who knew
 531 about Mururi told him what he had done.

There is a stone on the beach near Kurtatchi, which is an *urar* called Musinē. At night he becomes a man and goes fishing in the sea. He belongs to the Naboin clan; the Nakarib people cannot see him when he is a man. Once he had a mouth, but the sea dashed a big tree against his mouth and broke it.

Tawalir (the word means 'branch') is a horizontal stalagmitic formation, somewhat resembling the branch of a tree, at the lower edge of a big hole in the limestone cliff near Tabut. The story is that Tawalir used to be several miles farther east, but it quarrelled with another stone there, and said: 'You stop here, I will go and be master at the other point (the other horn of a bay).' So he went across the bay and climbed the cliff to the place where he is now. At night he comes to life and walks about. He is an *urar*.

Ku'enia is a rock on the east coast of Buka, near Malasang. It has a flat top. Fishermen put fish on it for the stone, and the stone eats them.

Matapar is another rock a little farther along the same coast. When men go fishing they take some sand and throw it on to the top of the stone, then plenty of little fish come close inshore.

753 Tonopoi is a rock which gives a man boils. Then he goes and rubs
 753 his boils against the stone, and says: 'Take back what you gave me.'
 753 Then the boils get well. This stone belongs to the Nakarib people.

Karakela is a rock which sticks up out of the water. If a very high tide comes and threatens to swamp the shore, the stone calls out and sends it back, saying the sea must not come up and spoil the places where it gets its food.

[K2] * The native word *metz* is used for both 'stone' and 'rock', so it is difficult to make a distinction. Those I have seen were in most cases large pieces which had at some time in the past broken away from the cliffs near by.

530 OTHER BELIEFS: CHIEFLY CONCERNING

75 A stone lying on the ground in the bush at the foot of the cliff
 76 near Lonahan, on the east coast of Buka, is supposed to represent
 823 the body of the woman who taught people to eat human flesh, by
 ● 538 giving to her daughter and her son-in-law pieces of her own flesh
 to eat with their taro, saying it was pig. This story is not merely
 local, I heard it also in several places in North Bougainville. It is
 given in full in my paper in *Folk-Lore* (1932, pp. 74-6). The stone
 is called Tchinalake, which was the name of the woman. It is a
 block of limestone, of similar formation to the cliff, and much
 weathered. It bears no traces of human handiwork, but has a
 rough resemblance to an emaciated woman lying on her side with
 the legs at right angles, the legs being truncated about a foot from
 the fork. The head is missing, and is said to have been lost so long
 ago that no one now living remembers having seen it. The stone
 is said to turn over once in a while, and point the legs the other way
 round, and sometimes to lie with the head end pointing towards
 the sea. Actually, it lies parallel with the coast-line.

A stone which appears to have been of ceremonial significance
 was reported to me. Unfortunately I discovered its existence too
 late to visit the spot. My informant had not seen it, and I was
 unable to get any details as to its shape. It is connected with a man
 named Tchinerits, who was killed by a spear and turned into this
 stone; the stone has the mark of a spear thrust upon it. It was set
 up at the foot of a banyan tree, but it went back of its own accord
 to Wanabus, where Tchinerits lived when he was alive. Now it
 is on the beach near Timputs. At night it walks about and makes
 footprints like a man shuffling along. (Here the teller walked about
 with a shuffling gait to illustrate how the stone is supposed to walk.)
 In the olden days, when a man died they took the stone out to sea
 with his body and threw both into the sea together; the stone came
 back to its place. Then they made a feast at the end of the mourning
 period, and put lime and ceremonial currency on the stone, and
 washed the stone. If this were not done, the *war* of the stone would
 kill the children of the dead person. I have this information from
 one informant only, a Timputs man whom I did not know; there is
 nothing else in my collection exactly comparable, and the subject
 needs more investigation than I was able to give it.

552 The natives often call stones or rocks of peculiar shape after
 things or creatures to which they are supposed to bear some re-
 semblance, just as we do ourselves. For example, there are several

540 OTHER BELIEFS: CHIEFLY CONCERNING

324 The Nagas also erect paired monuments in which one slab of stone
171 represents the male and the other the female (Hutton, 1922 (ii),
p. 243 and Pl. XVI) to which the stones at Tiop (which are also
male and female) would be closely comparable in appearance,
supposing the now prostrate stone originally to have stood upright.
One of the reasons the Nagas give for so doing is 'that anything else
is abhorrent to nature'.

324 It will be remembered that children are brought to the Tiop
842 stones by their mothers at birth, and again for cicatrization; that
the patterns on the two incised stones of Buka are the same as those
produced by this operation on the skin; and that cicatrization is
said to 'make the milk come up' in young women, and to render
each sex more attractive to the other. These considerations lead
me to put forward, very tentatively, an hypothesis that the stones
at Tiop and the pillars of Buka and Bougainville may perhaps once
have formed part of an elaborate fertility ritual, most of which has
now been lost.

570 The existence of the stones at Tiop, and the ritual connected
with them, came to my notice only at the very end of my period of
residence, when I was unable for lack of time to investigate the
question more fully. Further researches in this area might bring
to light other pillars and more information if it is not already gone
beyond recall.

BUSH GOBLINS.

- 776 To complete, so far as my material permits, the account of the
● 538 beliefs held by these people in regard to ghosts and spirits, refer-
ence must be made to a group of beings which must be regarded
as in a completely different category from those hitherto described.
They are never called *urar* or connected in any way with persons
who have died. They are not regarded with the terror inspired by
the *urar*, but with a mixture of rather shamefaced fear and half-
affectionate amusement apparently somewhat of the nature of the
feelings of country people in bygone days towards fairies, or
perhaps, since they are generally more or less mischievous, they are
better compared to goblins. They live in the bush, but are not
associated with special portions of it as the *urar* in their various
transformations are thought to be. Their doings and adventures,
particularly those into which human beings enter, provide material
for endless numbers of stories, which are always much enjoyed by

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541

both audience and narrator. That these stories are traditional is clear from the reappearance of certain stock incidents, with minor variations, in tales collected in different villages and told in several dialects. But although everybody knows about these spirits, which are thought to be visible to human beings, I never heard any one say that he had seen one, or even that he knew some one who had!

These bush goblins are of two kinds. One kind is called in the Petats dialect Kirin. They belong to the Manu clan. Those who are 'close to' them (i.e. in kinship) can see them; they will come to such people when called, and are then given food, especially ceremonial pudding, of which they are said to be very fond. I could get no clear idea of exactly what was meant by this connexion. It was described differently from that existing between a person and an *urar*-creature discussed in a preceding section. There are a great many Kirin. They live in holes under stones, especially at places where there is water. They also climb trees. They are described as being about a foot high (height shown by a gesture); they look like human beings, either male or female. Their skin is black; they have long hair, and long nails with which they scratch people in order to kill them. They can make a noise like a whistle. They are not always malevolent, but sometimes helpful to people. On the whole, however, they are regarded as mischievous.

The second kind of goblin is represented in Petats tales by a single individual, called Tatopiok. He belongs to the Kekeleo clan. One old man was named as being 'close to' him. He also lives in the bush. He has very long legs, so long that when he squats down his knees reach above his head. He has long hair, and his body is hairy as well as his head. His skin is light; it was compared to the colour of my own. He is always described as 'a bad fellow'; he comes to houses at night and steals food and ceremonial currency and other portable property and takes it away into the bush. But the Petats people said that now the Mission had come he did not steal any more!

At Kurtatchi the two kinds of goblins were not associated with them and certain human beings. The descriptions given were otherwise identical. The 'little people' are called in the Kurtatchi dialect Tukia. The equivalent of Tatopiok is Pinari, also called Dinja, but whereas Tatopiok appears to be considered as a single

542 OTHER BELIEFS: CHIEFLY CONCERNING

776 individual of the male sex, there seem to be a number of Pinari both male and female, as although one usually appears as the protagonist in any given story, they sometimes act in groups. The stories collected in both districts are in some instances identical. But sometimes incidents in which Tukis figures according to one version, will be reported of Pinari in another, so that there seems to be a process of pooling going on as regards their adventures. But the difference in their physical characteristics, and the fact that in some stories both Pinari and Tukis appear together, sometimes as confederates, sometimes as antagonists, indicates that they are regarded as distinct.

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● 538 There is a very large number of stories relating to these goblins in my collection. Most of them tell how Tukis or Pinari succeed in getting the better of some human, usually by a trick, or, conversely, how some human got his own back on the goblin. Occasionally a Tukis is represented as helping a man to capture or to escape from a Pinari. Both Tukis and Pinari delight in persuading some too trusting human to come to their holes, where the unsuspecting guest is trapped and eaten as a relish to taro, unless he is able to outwit the goblin and make his escape. In other stories it is the goblin who is caught and eaten. Both Tukis and Pinari can appear in the shape of any given individual. Sometimes they impersonate a man's wife, sometimes a woman's husband, or her baby. In either case the result is usually the death of the person who is deceived by the resemblance, and very often also of the goblin, who is killed by the victim's husband or relatives in revenge. A man or woman who has sexual intercourse with a Pinari will die. They present themselves to people who are in the bush alone, and also to groups of children, out opossum hunting or fishing or gathering nuts; they begin a conversation by asking for food, and various adventures then ensue. If they find any food left unguarded, they steal it. They are not represented as taking the shapes of animals or appearing in any other form except their own or that of some human being.

776
[171] I cannot find any exact parallel to the Pinari in accounts of other Melanesian peoples. There may be some affinity with the *adaro ni hasimou* of San Cristoval, who have long, straight hair and are malevolent (Fox, 1924, p. 129). But they are described as dark skinned, whereas my informants all laid stress on the fact that a Pinari's skin was as light as a white man's. Their behaviour also differs in detail.

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directed, many times brought to light beliefs and customs of which I might otherwise have remained in ignorance. Experience convinces me, furthermore, of the truth of the contention put forward by Dr. Haddon in his introduction to the stories collected by him in Torres Straits,³ that such tales may be regarded as trustworthy documents, and may be "drawn upon as evidence for the occurrence of certain customs and beliefs." "No one," he says, "who has had experience in this class of evidence will deny scientific value to most of the incidents of these tales because of the miraculous that is interwoven with them." His comment upon the Torres Straits stories is equally applicable to those of Buka and Bougainville. As Malinowski has demonstrated, such stories richly repay analysis from the psychological standpoint also. In the present paper, however, I propose to confine myself to a presentation of my material.

As to the age of these stories, I can offer no conjecture.⁵³⁸ The great majority belong to the category called by the natives "*wasisio wa kana*", "story belong before", and doubtless stretch far back into a past in which there is no history and no outstanding incidents which would serve as landmarks, such as those provided by the voyages of the canoes amongst the Maori. Some of them tell of such ordinary incidents as might have happened to any native at any time, but from the manner of their telling, and from the fact that the same trivial happening will occur in stories told in different dialects collected in villages considerable distances apart, it would appear that these also are traditional. Some stories are brought within recent days by statements that the son or grandson of the man to whom the tale refers is still living at a certain village, or that So-and-so is a relative of his. A very few relate to the coming of the white man, or to objects introduced by him, but the vast majority deal only with native culture. For example,

³ *Reports of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits* (Cambridge, 1904), vol. v., p. 10.

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- 538 while the practice of areca nut chewing occurs in almost all of them, there is no mention of tobacco, now the invariable and constant concomitant of a native's day.

128 I have arranged my stories rather roughly into ten
538 classes according to the main subject dealt with. In common with all folk-tales, one story will frequently combine several motifs, and consequently might equally well be put under any one of two or more headings, but the general trend is, as a rule, fairly clear. Some tales proved, on comparing different versions, to be portions of longer narratives, and it is only too likely that many others are actually incomplete. Where I have several versions of the same story, I have given what seems to be the most complete and coherent, but in no case have I pieced out a tale told by one person with material from a version given by another.

The titles of the tales have been arbitrarily given by myself, merely for convenience of reference. The tellers always plunged into the story without preamble. There is no conventional beginning, corresponding to "Once upon a time". The conventional ending for all tales is "Kapa" in the Petats dialect and "Mikin" in the Kurtatchi dialect. This simply means "Finished". Sometimes it will be "Mikin ge?" which might be translated "That's all, isn't it?"—a kind of appeal to the audience as to whether the story has been told correctly.

- 128 I have chosen a typical story to illustrate each of my ten classes. Possibly the first three might have been thrown together.

CLASS I. CULTURE-HERO STORIES.

- 538 Probably the most interesting, from the ethnological
773 standpoint are those stories which deal with the doings of culture-heroes, from whom the people consider themselves to be descended and to have derived their clan or other divisions, and other essential features of their culture. There are several tales of this type in my collection, gathered

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from different parts of the area studied. Of these the one⁵³⁸ which follows appears to be the most wide-spread. ⁷⁷³

The Old Woman and her Two Sons.

There was a big man whose name was Monohan. The⁵³⁹ whole country was afraid of him, because he killed people⁷⁷³ all the time. So they all ran away. Only one old woman whose name was Toboan⁴, was left behind. All the people got their canoes, they ran away from Monohan. All the canoes went away. The old woman looked at one of the canoes and said: "Come and fetch my basket and put it in the canoe." Then one man said: "Oh, by and bye you can go in a canoe that is behind. There are plenty coming yet." Another canoe came up. (The preceding conversation is repeated several times.) Now all the canoes had gone. The old woman said: "Never mind, I will stay here all alone. You have all run away and left me." So she stayed there all alone, she had no one to keep her company, they had all run away because they were afraid. They stayed in another place.

The old woman thought to herself: "There is no man here to be a husband to me, I would like to make myself a son." So she took a banana, the kind that is called *sorokun* and cooked it over the fire, then she took another and cooked it also. Then she took the bananas and copulated with them. She was with child. Presently the children of the bananas were born, two boys, both born at the same time. She called them Tchikenau and Bakiano.

While the children were still small she made bows and arrows for them, and said to them: "You try them." So the two pulled at them and broke them. Then she taught them how to fight, so that by and bye they could fight the big man. She said: "You are not big enough yet." She waited till they were bigger, she gave them more bows and arrows. The two pulled at them and broke them. Then

⁴ Toboan means "a toothless old crone."

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539 is called Semsem, and is described as a "devil" who devoured
 773 all the people of Tanna except one old woman. Her twin sons,
 171 who afterwards destroyed Semsem, were conceived of a stone
 which she ate.

539 *Note.*—The references here given are confined to works which
 773 contain a recognisable variant of the "Two Brothers" story as
 171 told on the island of Buka. The wider issue of the "cult of the
 114 Brethren" throughout Oceania is dealt with in detail by Dr.
 Haddon in the forthcoming final volume of his Report on the
 Torres Straits Expedition. I am much indebted to Dr. Haddon
 for permitting me to become acquainted with his discussion of
 the subject in MS., and also for his kindness in reading the MS. of
 the present paper. In connection with the story as here given
 he makes the following comment (in a letter from which I quote
 with his permission): "The relation between the "two brothers"
 and the Oceanic Brethren (Qat-Tangaloa, etc.) is obscure,
 though doubtless there is some connection. It seems evident
 that some syncretism has taken place. We have to take into
 account the original Papuan stratum in Melanesia and various
 successive waves of culture from Indonesia, of which the betel
 users were probably one of the last spreads. I do not see how
 we can with our present knowledge differentiate between the
 tales and cults of these various layers."

CLASS II. CULTURE ORIGIN STORIES.

- 538 Under this heading I have included stories purporting to
 773 explain certain practices or customs of the people. Usually,
 though not always, the originators of these are nameless,
 differing in this respect from the culture heroes of Class I.
 Among my collection are stories illustrating the origin of
 fire, of canoe-making, of eating pig, of various musical
 instruments, and many others. The following will serve
 to illustrate this category.

How People Learnt to Eat Human Flesh.

539 Tchinaleke sent away her son-in-law and his wife, she
 773 said: "You go and work in the taro garden, I will look after

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539
775 Tchinalেকে climbed up a *karao* close to the couple, and they took an axe and cut the *karao* right through, and she fell down, and her bones were broken. The man and his wife went up into the sky. Tchinalেকে lies at Lonahan, she is a stone now, she is there always.

[266] Now all the people eat man, if they go to fight and kill some people, they eat them. But they do not eat their kinsmen.

[175] This story was told to me by Pinari, the old chief of Kurtatchi. I have an almost identical version from Sakwon, an old man of Pororan, besides several fragmentary versions. There is also another, quite different, story purporting to account for the eating of human flesh. The incident of people going up into the sky occurs in several stories.

[823] There is a rock at Lonahan, on the east coast of Buka, called Tchinalেকে, which the natives say is her body turned to stone. It has a rough resemblance to a limbless figure lying with its head turned sideways. It is a natural formation, but there is a

[324] stone pillar of human workmanship at the foot of a *tchiniv* tree at the top of the cliff just above. Pinari said this was Tchinalেকে, but the local natives took me to the rock previously mentioned as the authentic Tchinalেকে.

G. Camden Wheeler gives a version of this story (*Mono-Alu Folk-Lore*, No. 45) but no connection is indicated with the practice of eating human flesh, neither is the woman turned into stone.

CLASS III. NATURAL HISTORY STORIES.

- 538 In this category I have placed stories accounting for
821 natural phenomena, the moon and stars, the contours of the land, the presence of certain curiously shaped rocks, of caves, reefs, whirlpools, etc. Perhaps the following is one of the most interesting.

How the Moon got into the Sky.

539 The people went to the taro gardens. One woman was
821 lazy, she stayed in the village doing nothing. Her husband

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539 sun, and there is no other story connected with the sun in my
821 collection. Mr. A. M. Hocart tells me, in conversation, that
171 stories connected with the sun are rare in his experience of
Melanesia. Thurnwald* offers the following explanation: "Man
beschäftigt sich, wie diese Sagen zeigen, sehr viel mit dem
Mond, den man fürchtet, der sich immer verändert, aber verhält-
nismässig nur sehr wenig mit der durch ihr Licht sichernd
wirkenden Sonne."

CLASS. IV. REAL-LIFE STORIES.

- 538 The tales in this class are sometimes about certain individuals, but more often about men, women and children who remain nameless. They consist of incidents of everyday life, hunting, fishing and domestic scenes, such as might happen to any native at any time. Perhaps we might compare them to that class of reading matter among ourselves known as "magazine stories". They are full of details the understanding of which requires a somewhat intimate knowledge of native customs and conditions, but with the appropriate explanations they have much light to throw upon the reactions of the natives to certain situations, their relations with each other, and many other aspects of their lives. Some of these tales are obviously [522] intended to be comic, a favourite subject being the trickster who is himself tricked. The following brief tale will serve as well as any other to illustrate this class which is a very large one.

Revenge for a Poor Feast.

Told by Koawu, old man of Kurtatchi.

- 539 The people went fishing, they took nets, they took nets to catch *bari* (a small reef fish.) They went fishing on the reef, and one man caught one *bari*. Then they sent a message to another village to come and eat, and all the people came, they came to eat, they all looked about in

* R. Thurnwald, *Forschungen auf den Salomo-Inseln und dem Bismarck Archipel*, vol. I., p. 336.

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vain for more *bari*, they were angry with the people, they⁵³⁹ said: "There is no fish here, we have looked in vain for fish, there is no fish." They all went back to their own village.

They prepared a return feast, they killed one 'possum. They sent a message to the other village, they should all come and eat the return feast. They all went, they ate, they looked in vain for *koko*in (pudding made of pounded [262] taro and coconut oil) and 'possums, they were angry, they said: "Where is the food?" They (the other people) said: "We are returning the feast you gave. You did not give us plenty to eat, we are returning it. We have made a feast with one 'possum, that's all, it's quite enough for you."

CLASS V. ANIMAL STORIES.

These comprise a type of story common to the folk-tales⁵³⁸ of all peoples, in which animals, birds and fishes are represented as talking and behaving like human beings, as happens in so many of our own fairy stories. They differ from fables in that they are not supposed to point a moral. Many of them explain the origin of the peculiarities of certain beasts, are, in fact, "Just-so Stories".

The Iguana and the Bush-fowl.

Two friends, a bush-fowl (Kolong) and an iguana (Bas)⁵³⁹ thought they would like to make a feast, when the almonds were ripe. They went to the bush. Bas said: "Kolong, let us get some almonds." Kolong said: "All right, let's go now." So they found an almond tree, and Bas said: "You go up first." So Kolong went up the tree. He came back and said: "I can't go up, I am not heavy enough." So Bas went up and threw down almonds, till Kolong said there were enough. Then they went home, and got their stone pestle and wooden tray (on which the nuts are pounded). Kolong said to Bas: "You peel some taro while I pound the almonds." So they did, and made *koko*in

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- 539 over Bas, and scalded his skin, so that it came up in blisters. That is why the iguana has a rough skin like a crocodile. Bas wriggled and wriggled, and at last he broke the rope and ran away into the bush.

Ever since then, every time an iguana finds the bush fowl's eggs he eats them, and if he finds little chickens he eats them too, but he can't catch the fowls themselves because they fly up into the trees and get away from him.

[115] The version was given to me in Pidgin English by Jiapin, a
539 young man of Petats. I have another, rather less detailed, from
171 Sakwan of Poröran, and others from Kurtatchi.

A similar incident is given by Seligman in his story of "The Lizard and the Bird" (*Melanesians of British New Guinea*, p. 411) from the Southern Massim, Wamira, Goodenough Bay. In this case the story ends by the bird eating the lizard, and nothing is said about the lizard's skin.

CLASS VI. ANIMAL ASSOCIATION STORIES.

- 538 With reference to the human behaviour of the animals in
825 stories of the preceding class, it seems pretty clear that the natives look on it in much the same light as we regard, let us say, the behaviour of "The Three Bears". But there is a variety of animal stories behind which lies much more than this. In addition to their clan totems, these natives recognise a personal association with certain creatures, by means of which some, but by no means all, persons exercise a measure of control over the creature thus connected with them, and may command it to do their bidding, or call upon it to refrain from injuring them or their friends. The conception is similar, I think, to that described by Ivens¹ as existing in the S.E. Solomons between a man and his "familiar". To go into this subject in detail would take us beyond the bounds of folk-lore, but the stories which

¹ W. G. Ivens, *Melanesians of the South-East Solomon Islands*, (London, 1927), pp. 238 ff.

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follow will serve to illustrate the relationship referred to, ⁵³⁸
as it is conceived by the natives of North Bougainville. ⁸²⁵

The Shark-child.

A man had connection with his wife. She was a young ⁵³⁹
woman. She became pregnant. He thought she was ⁸²⁵
carrying a child. Her time drew near. The child was born.
She did not bear a real child, she bore a shark. It was born.
The woman's mother thought she had borne a human child.
She wanted to see it. She saw it, it was a shark. "What
is that you have borne? It is a shark, belonging to the
salt-water." They went and fetched some sea water, they
poured it into a *kobu* (receptacle made of the fibrous sheath ⁴¹⁵
of the areca palm, much used by the natives for carrying ⁴⁸²
and other purposes). They took the woman's shark-child,
they put him inside. He stood up in the water. He stayed
in the water, he grew big in the water. All the people did
not know about him, only the woman's kinsfolk knew.
Now he grew big. They made a feast for him. The woman's
kinsfolk showed him to all the people. Some of the women
said: "Let us go and look at the woman's child." They
all said: "He isn't a real child, the woman has borne a
shark." They all went and made him stand up at the
bottom of a river. He stayed there, he did not leave the
river. He made himself a house on the sand. When they
made a feast, they took a piece of pig, they went and called
out for the shark, and gave him the piece of pig. They cut
the shark's skin. They made him stand up again.

The teller here explained that they cut a pattern on the
shark's skin just like the pattern cut on his own chest.
(These natives cut elaborate patterns on various parts of ³⁰⁴
their bodies, rubbing lime into them so that the scars remain
permanently.) He said that his own shark was called
Muwatskawits, it lived at Timputs, his *tubune* bore it a
long time ago. The term *tubune* is used for an ancestor, of

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right presently? " Now all the snakes went away, the man⁵³⁹ was all right again. His father was very happy: "My⁸²⁵ child is all right again now." His father and his kinsmen caught a pig and gave it to the man who was kin to the snake-spirit.

This story was told by Tchiniv, an elderly woman of Ruri, the^[15] next village to Kurtatchi, about four miles to the east, but having a different dialect.

CLASS VII. TRANSFORMATION STORIES.

In yet a third kind of story involving animals, a human⁵³⁷ being changes himself into some creature, and sometimes back again, usually out of pique, or in revenge for a supposed injury. I cannot call to mind any in which the transformation is effected by somebody else, as occurs in the Arabian Nights stories. Some of the tales in this class may possibly be origin stories representing the first appearance of the creature involved, but as the teller did not say so I have classified them separately. They do not appear to have any totemic significance.

Woman into Fish.

Two women were fighting. One woman was fighting with⁵³⁹ her sister. One of the women said: "What are you beating me for?" The other woman said: "All right! You just wait till my husband comes." Her husband came now. He asked: "What are you doing to my wife?" The woman's sister said: "Oh! I am cross with her, she won't be kind to me, she is cross with me all the time." The man's wife said: "All right. By and bye you people will be looking for me, do you think I shall stay here?" Now the woman went to the shore, she went to get some clams. Her sister said: "What are you going to eat with the clams you are catching?" "Never mind, I shall eat them without anything, I have no taro to eat with them." She went into the sea,

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The same motif is given by Thurnwald from Buin (p. 389) where⁵³⁹
the woman becomes a dugong. [171]

CLASS VIII. STORIES ABOUT THE SPIRITS OF THE DEAD.

The term used in all the stories included in this class is⁵³⁸ *mate* in the Petats dialect and *urar* in the Kurtatchi dialect.⁷⁷⁵ These words have the very definite meaning of the spirits of dead persons, which, according to the native belief, can return, can interfere in the affairs of living people, generally for evil, and can, if they so desire, make themselves visible to men, either in the guise of human beings or as spirits, recognisable as such by certain peculiarities of person, e.g. "their eyes are light." The belief in these spirits is very real and profound, and the fear of them is a predominating influence in every native's life. Stories involving them were told and listened to with much more than the usual seriousness, and were clearly not looked upon as mere flights of the imagination. The full discussion of this question belongs to a chapter on social anthropology rather than to a presentation of folk-tales, and I must content myself in the present paper with giving one example in illustration of this category. I have used the native term *urar* in order to steer clear of the ambiguity involved in the word "spirit."

The orphan looks for his mother.

(There was) a little child, his mother died. The child was⁵³⁹ very small, he could just walk. The men went to bury his mother, the child stayed behind. Then he followed the men who were carrying his mother. He went, he went, he went, he went, he came to the place belonging to the *urar*. He stopped at the edge of the water, he sat down. He saw a long stretch of sand, it was quite clear. He made a hole in the sand, big enough for himself. He went inside, he hid in the hole. He took some leaves, the leaves of the wild banana that grows in the bush, and covered up his head in

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came, they lay down, their bones went cr-r-r-r-rack.⁵³⁹
 Another line lay down, their bones went cr-r-r-r-r-rack.
 The child's mother wanted to go to sleep, the child lay down
 and put his head in her lap. The mother tried to send the
 child to sleep first. The child slept. The mother went to
 sleep, her skin came off, the child was lying against her
 bones. The child was cold in the night, he thought the
 light in his mother's eyes was fire. He seized hold of his
 mother's eye. His mother said: "What are you doing to
 my eye?" "I thought it was a fire." "This place has no
 fire." Then the mother said: "To-morrow I shall take you
 back home."

Dawn broke. The mother hid the child. The people of
 the village went to work, there was no one left in the village.
 The child's mother watched the people go, she hid. When
 they had all gone she brought the child to the village. The
 child ate some taro, he said: "Why don't you eat some
 taro?" "I am not the same as I was before, I am different
 now." Then the mother went back. The child cried: "Oh,
 let me come with you." His mother said: "No, you can't
 come with me. You must die first, you go back now. You
 can't come now because you are still alive." Then his
 mother went away. The child sat down in the house and
 cried: "Oh! Oh! my mother has gone away." His mother
 went back to the place of all the *uwar*, the next day the child
 died.

This story was told by Sankuro, of Kurtatchi, a boy in his ^[115]
 later teens, still wearing the *upi*. He said he had heard the old
 man telling it. The details about *uwar* given in the tale corres-
 pond with those obtained from other informants when dis-
 cussing the question of death without reference to the tales.

CLASS IX. STORIES ABOUT PINARI AND TUKIS.

The beings with which the stories in this class are con-
 cerned occupy a place in the native scheme of things totally

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538 different from that of the spirits of Class VIII. They might
 776 perhaps be called "hobgoblins" because they seem to be regarded by the natives with much the same mixture of genuine fear and half-affectionate amusement as used to be, perhaps still is, felt by a rustic in some out-of-the-way corner of our own country for the "little people" inhabiting the neighbouring wood. However that may be, it is a very different feeling from the deep-seated terror which is aroused by the very mention of the word *urar*.

These beings are of two sorts. One group, known by the general name of Pinari, was described to me as being very long-legged, and having hair all over their bodies. They can be either male or female. On Buka the name is Tato-piok, but it seems to be thought of as belonging to an individual rather than to a group. The other beings, called Tukis on Bougainville and Tiukis or Tchiukis on Buka, are very tiny, and live in holes in the bush. Sometimes a story told of Pinari in one place will be attributed to Tukis in another, but there is clearly a distinction between them, since both will occasionally figure in the same tale, sometimes as enemies. To avoid confusion, I have retained the original terms in my translations.

These beings appear to correspond, more or less, to the Sakusaku of the Mono-Alu tales,¹¹ the Mara ("Waldkobold") of Buin,¹² the Kakamora of San Cristoval,¹³ and perhaps to the "Wild Men" described by Codrington.¹⁴

¹¹ G. Camden Wheeler, *Mono-Alu Folk-Lore*, p. 59, etc.

¹² R. Thurnwald, *Forschungen auf den Salomo-Inseln und dem Bismarck-Archipel*, (Berlin, 1912), p. 367, etc.

¹³ C. E. Fox, *The Threshold of the Pacific*, (London, 1924), pp. 138 ff. Fox suggests that the Kakamora "may be the people who held the land before the Melanesians entered it, in very ancient times, and who are now extinct, or they may be the memories of other people from other islands whence the Melanesians came." He argues against Codrington's view that they represent the notions held by the coast people about the people of the interior.

¹⁴ Codrington, *The Melanesians*, p. 354.

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Stories are recorded of the first three of these which are⁵³⁸ similar, in some cases almost identical, with some of those⁷⁷⁶ in which Pinari and Tukis are the protagonists. I did not come across anything comparable to the "Rere ni Mesi" described by Ivens¹⁵ (Fox's "Masai"¹⁶).

There is a very large number of these tales in my collection, some of them very long and involved. Certain stock incidents tend to be repeated, in slightly differing contexts. From considerations of space, I have chosen a short, but quite typical one, to represent this category in the present paper.

Tukis outwitted by a child.

A child was cross, and he cried, and he went to sleep on⁵³⁹ the front verandah. All the people had come back from paddling their canoes, they were asleep inside the house. Tukis came and took the boy, took him verandah¹⁷ and all. He went into the bush by night. The boy woke up and hung on to a creeper that was hanging from an *atchitch* tree (the tree on which grow the nuts whose kernels when ground make the "putty" used to seal up holes in canoes, etc.) Tukis went on, carrying the verandah without any boy on it. The boy climbed up the *atchitch*. Tukis went back, he wanted to find the boy and eat him. The boy took a putty-nut and threw it at him. Tukis said: "Darkness, darkness come."¹⁸ The boy said: "Dawn, dawn, come

¹⁵ Ivens, *Missionaries of the S.E. Solomons*, pp. 409 ff.

¹⁶ Fox, p. 143.

¹⁷ The word translated "verandah" (*poŋ*) is the narrow platform of split areca palm trunks or bamboos which is placed in front of a native house, and much used for sitting and lying upon. Women are not allowed to use it, they have their own "verandah" at the back (*babots*). In the story as given by Fox (*op. cit.* p. 143) it is a coconut sleeping mat on which the boy is carried off, but sleeping mats are not used in North Bougainville.

¹⁸ These two formulas occur in a great many of the Tukis stories. The result is always the same.

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539 quickly." The boy shot at him with putty nuts. Dawn came. Tukis ran away.

There are many versions of this story, both in my own collection and in those from other areas referred to in the preceding paragraph. Like most of the stories in this class, it seemed to be known to everyone in the village.

CLASS X. MISCELLANEOUS.

- 538 This is a convenient heading under which to group certain tales which do not fall naturally into any of the previous categories. The one which follows is of interest because of the chanted song, a feature which is rare in my collection.

The Painted Lady.

- 539 The people paddled their canoes, they went to get packets of paint. They came back. They put the packets of paint up in the rafters.¹⁹

Two brothers went to catch fish, and came back, and saw something that looked like a woman cooking taro in the house, and they said: "Who is cooking taro? It is our grandmother, isn't it?" "You go and ask her. I think it was she who put the taro down" (in the embers to roast). But their grandmother said: "I have not put any taro down yet." Then they went back again to catch fish, and came back again, and again they saw something that looked like a woman, cooking taro, and they said again: "Who is that cooking taro? It is our grandmother who is cooking taro, isn't it?" "You go and ask her. She has put the taro down." But their grandmother said again: "No, I have not put any taro down yet." Then the big brother asked the little one: "Who has been chewing areca nut?" Then he sent the little brother, the little brother went and hid in the house, and the big brother went to catch fish, and came back.

¹⁹ This is the usual storing-place for possessions of value.

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The woman went to the taro garden, and the little brother⁵³⁹ went behind the woman to the taro garden. He did not come up to the woman, he hid. The woman took her pack on her back, and went back to the house, and the boy went behind her. They went back, and the woman prepared a pot. Then the boy came up to her, and said: "Oh! You are my wife." Then the big brother came up, and the two brothers went off together, and the big brother said: "By and bye I shall marry that woman." "No, I don't like that, she belongs to me, I saw her first."

Then the three of them went and got a fishing net, and went fishing. The woman was crying, and the little brother asked her: "What is the matter?" She said: "Nothing, I am crying about my skin, I am afraid it will come off in the water, it is not strong yet. You two must catch a pig and give me some to eat, I am only paint, I am not strong yet."

Then the woman sang:

Eia ro tsinag, eia ro tamag,
Tchenoto eia luma-a tche koreme,
Toa, toa.

[533]

This song is in a dialect different from that spoken at Kur-tatchi, in which the rest of the tale was told. It resembles the dialect spoken on the coast of Buka. It was translated as follows: "Oh mother! Oh father! Presently the woman will stink in the house. Presently I shall disappear." It was sung very slowly, in a minor key, and repeated several times with obvious satisfaction.

The story was told by Nanep, one of the younger men. I^[115] have found no parallel to it, up to the present.

The foregoing categories indicate the scope of my collec-⁵³⁸tion of folk-tales, with the omission of those few which involve the White Man, such as the coming of the first schooner or the natives' first experience of tobacco. I hope at some subsequent opportunity to publish more of these

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- 539 tales, in a form which will permit of a fuller discussion of the ethnological problems involved than has been possible in the present paper. It will, however, be clear, I think, that these tales from Buka and North Bougainville fall into line with those reported from other parts of the area known as Melanesia, being bound to them, even where their details differ, by what Halliday in his discussion of Greek folk-tales characterises as "a common tone or *ἦθος*, easier to discern than to describe."

BEATRICE BLACKWOOD.

REFERENCES (see map opposite).

113 X Locality of stories given in the accompanying paper.

1. "The Melanesians of British New Guinea," (chap. xxxiii., *The Southern Massim*). By C. G. Seligman. 1910.
2. *The Northern D'Entrecasteaux*. By D. Jenness and A. Ballantyne. 1920.
3. "Complex and Myth in Mother-right." By B. Malinowski. *Psyche*, vol. v., No. 3. Jan., 1925.
4. *Mythen und Erzählungen der Küsten-bewohner der Gazelle-Halbinsel (Neu Pommern)*. By P. Jos. Meier. 1909.
5. *Forschungen auf den Salomo-Inseln und dem Bismarch-Archipel*. Vol. i. *Lieder und Sagen aus Buin*. By R. Thurnwald. 1912.
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Variants of other stories in my collection are reported from the Admiralty Islands (*Mythen und Sagen der Admiralitäts Inselaner*, by P. Josef Meier. *Revue Internationale d'Ethnologie et de linguistique, Anthropos*, vol. ii. 1907) and from Fiji ("Lau Islands, Fiji," by A. M. Hocart, *Bishop Museum Bull.* No. 62, 1929).